no limits

Brisbane Anarchist Newsletter

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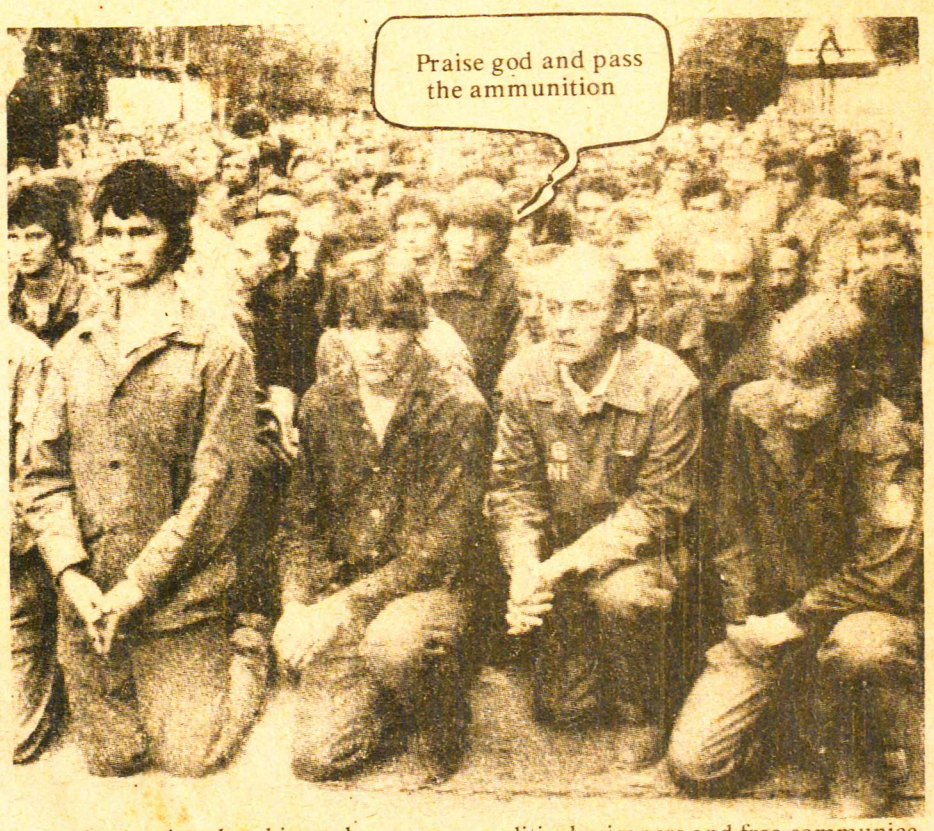
20 CENTS OR DONATION

WORKERS STATE V. WORKERS

What does this photograph tell us? According to a recent letter to the editor in the Courier-Mail, it 'tells more than a thousand words.'

'One look at the rows of forlorn faces in the photograph', the writer tells us, 'should be proof enough that one particular group of Polish people at least have precious little in their lives to be hopeful about. Surely if they can summon up enough faith to pray to God, so can we.'

This is the sort of explanation of Polish events being pushed in the media and it is the most absurd nonsense. The workers of Poland have done more than pray- they have acted with courage, determination and great political awareness. They have launched a vigorous attack against Polish state capitalism and won valuable concessions which will strenghthen the popular movement in that country. However, they have done much more than that. During the past few weeks they have shown thay they have no illusions whatsoever about, or trust in the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party or any of its leaders. That party quite obviously remains in power only because of the certainty of Soviet military intervention if Communist Party power were overthrown. In their struggles the Polish workers have instituted a practice which is the most hopeful and democratic method of challenging the bosses- that of *direct democracy*.



By direct democracy we mean the practice of decisions being made by general assemblies rather than executives and,where co-ordination is required (which is vital in a general strike), this is carried out by delegates who carry a mandate from the general assemblies and who are responsible to those assemblies. These are the practices which seem to have been followed by the workers in the Polish general strike. What they have created (and what they will undoubtedly try to retain after the strike is over) are parallel institutions to those of the state which can be the basis of their defence against the Polish ruling elite (state and Communist Party bureaucrats). Hopefully these organisations, which enjoy the loyalty of the majority of the Polish people, will ultimately overthrow the state and establish a genuine socialist democracy where decisions are made by all people and not by an elite- even one which calls itself a 'workers' government'. The most likely time for such a revolution would be when movements existed in a number of countries in Eastern Europe.

What most people do not realise, however is that the Polish Workers' actions are based on their experiences which go back to 1956. In that year a strike movement began with such demands as 'Freedom and Bread!', 'Out with the Russians!' and 'End Piecework'. Workers' councils were set up in the factories and workshops to run the strike. Whereas in Hungary three months later workers' councils did seize effective power from the Hungarian state (and then tried unsuccessfully to defend themselves against Russian tanks), in Poland the situation was different. The workers were appeased by having some of their demands met, by incorporating the workers' councils into the official management apparatus (where they lost all their effectiveness) and some old Party hacks in the hierarchy were replaced by some new Party hacks under Party Secretary Gomulka who had a veneer of Polish nationalism.

In December, 1970 the Polish state was again under challenge from the workers. In the intervening years there had been no improvement in the economic state of the country or in the degree of political democracy. One-party rule, government ineptitude, rigid censorship and suppression of dissent were characteristics of the Gomulka regime just as they had beenof his predecessor's. Probably several jundred people were killed by the police in these demonstrations, the country was closed down by a general strike and the workers' councils reappeared. The ruling elite won this battle against the workers by granting wage rises (and then taking them back some months later) and replacing the old Party bureaucrat Gomulka with the technocrat Gierek. Gierek's credibility lasted no longer than 1976 when price rises led to food riots which led to fierce repression.

Now in 1980 the Polish Communist Party has only two alternatives- both equally unpalatable. Knowing that they no longer have any credibility with the workers, they can give in to the demands and, therefore, share power with the Polish working class. Alternatively, they can call in the Russian tanks.

Events in Poland must provide the reactionary Soviet elite with a major headache given the problems they are having with their economy and with maintaining the bonds of their own empire in Eastern Europe. However, the events can offer no joy to the Malcolm Frasers and Jimmy Carters of this world because, through their efforts, the Polish workers can provide a brilliant answer to the questions which all revolutionaries must confront.

- ☐ What strategies should oppressed people employ in challenging their ruling elites?
- ☐ What forms of organisation and democratic procedures should they adopt?
- ☐ What vision of a future society will guide their efforts?

The workers ofPoland are making such demands as free trade unions, the abolition of censorship, the release of political prisoners and free communication.Instead of confronting the police and army in the streets and getting killed, they are staying inside their factories where they can organise and make reasoned decisions and they have established links between all the enterprises throughout Poland whose workers are on strike. They have *established their own communication outlets which enable the rest of the Polish population (and the outside world) to find out what is going on.* They are ensuring that their organisations are democratically based with decisions being made by all workers. The vision which these actions in Poland portend is that of a decentralised, self-managed society where effective decision-making is exercised by the people where those decisions are most meaningful- in general assemblies at the level of workplace and community.

Of course for a social revolution to herald a truly liberatory society, it is necessary to have more than a liberatory organisational framework. Questions of domination and oppression at all levels of human relationships have to be confronted. Sexism, racism and nationalism all give rise to practices which are exploitative and oppressive and there is no reason to suppose that Polish society is any further along the road to solving these questions than any other. Nevertheless, the Polish workers have given us an example of a political structure which is far more suitable for the achievement of human liberation than any of the hierarchical, centralised, bureaucratic societies created by both marxism-leninism and by liberal democracy.

One last reservation about the outcome in Poland should be noted. The Polish workers have won an important victory with the freedom to form their own trade unions. However, there are always people engaged in struggles who prefer to limit their demands to a containable level so that life might be a little more tolerable, but the main agent of oppression in that society remains unchallenged.This has been the fate of trade unions in the West. In Poland the main agents of oppression and exploitation are the *Communist Party and state apparatuses. Like its counterpart in the West, the Polish ruling elite will be only too happy to integrate the free trade unions into the repressive structure of the state. It will be in the interests of people throughout the world who are dedicated to the cause of human liberation that the workers of Poland resist these attempts.*

POLICE BRUTALITY: CAXTON ST. REALITY

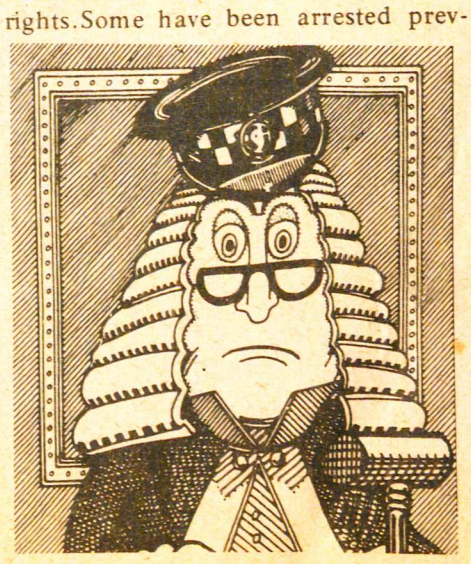
Police violence and intimidation tactics are nothing new to queenslanders.With an election looming, the clean-up campaign by Qld. police has already begun. In the last couple of years, we have seen unprovoked violence by police against civil liberties demonstrators. These attacks were the springboard for police attacks on individuals in all sorts of other set-ups. Bashings during and after dances, raids on people's homes, violence against picketers and party-goers and general surveillance show the use and abuse of police files and fabricated information.

Sensationalized articles in the mass media concerning a dance at Caxton St., on the night of November 30th have pushed the claims by police that there were 200 people rioting in the street.

This has reinforced the govt's propaganda through the bourgeois media that an increase in police powers is necessary for "law and order" to be maintained. Since Dec. 1st last year it has become obvious to those who were not previously aware of it that magistrates courts are indeed police courts. The authorities work hand in glove with the mass media to generate paranoia in our communities about the kinds of young people who go to rock 'n'roll dances.

Paranoia concerning police violence is justified when one considers the history of Qld's and all police forces.

How to defend ourselves is the dilemma.Police violence reached such a crescendo the night of the Baroona Hall bashings that the people arrested suffered considerable injuries. The police prevalent in the bashings are all over 16st. and6'3". This violence came to a peak because :the dance was to raise bail money for a person in jail; several people at the dance are well-known defenders of their rights.Some have been arrested prev-



cont. on page 8

self-management or worker participation?

In the first edition of **No Limits** reference was made to self-management of workplaces and institutions. Some time ago, the ABC radio program **Broadband** examined a factory in Victoria where "self-management" or another term worker participation was operative. The factory, operated by DynavacP/L was originally located in Burwood and later moved to Knoxfield. The factory manufactures high performance vacuum pumps for research laboratories. We would like to point out some of the history of this factory prior to Dynavac workers accepting worker participative management.

When operating under the normal hierarchical system, with managers supervisors and foreperson, the factory did not have a very stable employment record. At one stage a leading hand exceeded his authority and was demoted. A metal worker was operating more than one machine, a practice generally frowned upon in machine shops.If a worker held views differing from those of the 'normal' workers, or if a worker tried to organise workmates into a trade union then they were told that they didn't fit in. Finally a reason would be concocted and the offending worker given the sack. No support would be forthcoming from the other Dynavac workers as they accepted that the company had the absolute right to hire and fire on any pretext.

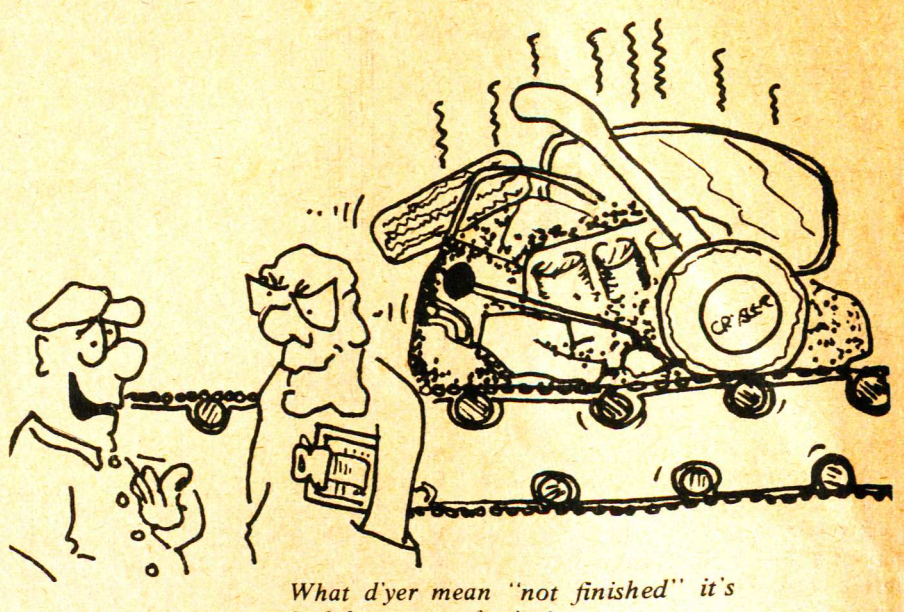
In a review by the National Times (13.4.1980) of a book called **Democracy in the Workplace** the writer said that Dynavac is Australias foremost example of industrial democracy working towards "self-management"or to use the other term, participative management. According to this review, staff meetings are held regularly, there is an employee responsibility list, and planning of production at shop floor level. These decisions are carried out by the workers themselves without supervision by the bosses. The employing class are now aware that the full cooperation of the workers is vital to production because that means bigger profits. If they encourage the workers to run the factories, plan production and work as a team then all the bosses have to do is find markets for the products. Such a situation proves that workers can run factories and institutions without thc bosses.

Another find today is to have 'boards' set up by employers with representatives from the company and workers. Usually union delegates end up on the board. That way the bosses can control the workers through their delegates. The normal system would operate, with supervisors, forepersons, and workers with "their own"representatives helping to make decisions at middle management level. The general mistrust that the workers have of their bosses would be eliminated. Even a dedicated elected union delegate would soon be compromised once s/he accepted a position on the company board.

With worker participation the bosses do not even have to use their power to hire and fire; all that responsibility is taken by the work team. What would happen if you raised questions about safety and pay issues that affected production and profits in a normal hierarchial structure? The foreperson would class you as a stirrer and finally sack you. In the workers participative management situation the workers themselves would do the firing in a more subtle way, placing one under an obligation to cooperate or leave.

The company representatives would only be too willing to discuss the bread and butter issues on a union basis but inevitably questions would arise about the running of the plant and production with the union delegates ending up puppets of the management. The employer knowing that s/he has a disciplined work force can then call for a greater team effort at any time, knowing that the workers would respond; even to the extent of a four day week, or absorption of cost of living increases if the situation warranted it There are some unions and workers who are aware of the role of the bosses in the supposed industrial democracy, but they are in a minority.

You would be lead to believe then that these unions would encourage workers to take over the factories and institutions themselves, and then decide what should be produced, how and when, in the interests of people not profits. In order to do this the unions would go out of business because a socialist self-managed society would not tolerate trade union leaders or leadership.The former prime minister Gough Whitlam was a past master at involving trade union leaders on boards and commissions: Fitzgibbon of the Waterside Workers Union, Slater from the Post Office Union, Hawke(Reserve Bank)and Egerton on Qantas and Mary Kathleen boards. Today they are all moderates and have forgotten the workers they were supposed to represent. They are more at home talking with the bosses. Some have even joined the ranks of the bosses like honest John.Even the labor party couldn't cop him in the end.



What d'yer mean "not finished" it's had three coats of paint!

Because of the economic downturn and unemployment in the capitalist world, workers will be looking to the Labour Party for a solution. But their answer, according to Hayden, is for unions to accept some sort of social wage economic package, meaning a trade off: cheaper health insurance, lower petrol prices and taxes, in exchange for restraint on wages. Most importantly the employing class will have total control over workers meaning a disciplined and subservient workforce similar to Japan's. With these sorts of concessions from a 'working class' political party, you would wonder why the capitalists support the conservative parties.

Workers should watch Bob Hawke, particularly if the Labour Party wins the coming federal election. Hayden has already stated that he will make Hawke the Minister for Industrial Relations,so that he can use his influence and power to convince the ACTU to accept some sort of economic package deal, to control the workers and get them to act in a way he thinks is responsible.

To sum up, there have always been divisions between the ruling class and the workers. Worker participation or any sort of participative management will not change this relationship. Workers should realize that they are being co-opted by the bosses to increase production, meaning more profits and power for the bosses. Workers might even feel free and have some job satisfaction in the workplace, but they will be just as alienated and powerless as the majority of workers in factories and institutions.

We have no easy answers to changing this society and do not see ourselves as yet another leadership like the ALP or Marxist-Leninists. The solutions will only be determined by workers themselves. We are fully aware that no ruling class in the past has ever relinquished power without a struggle, and our present rulers are no exception. We seek and encourage people to fight for a social humanist society based on self-management, with workers challenging *the state* apparatus and running the factories and institutions themselves at all levels, with equal wages and equal decision making, general meetings, elected representatives to workers councils with immediate right of recall, and links with other councils on a regional basis.

A metal worker.

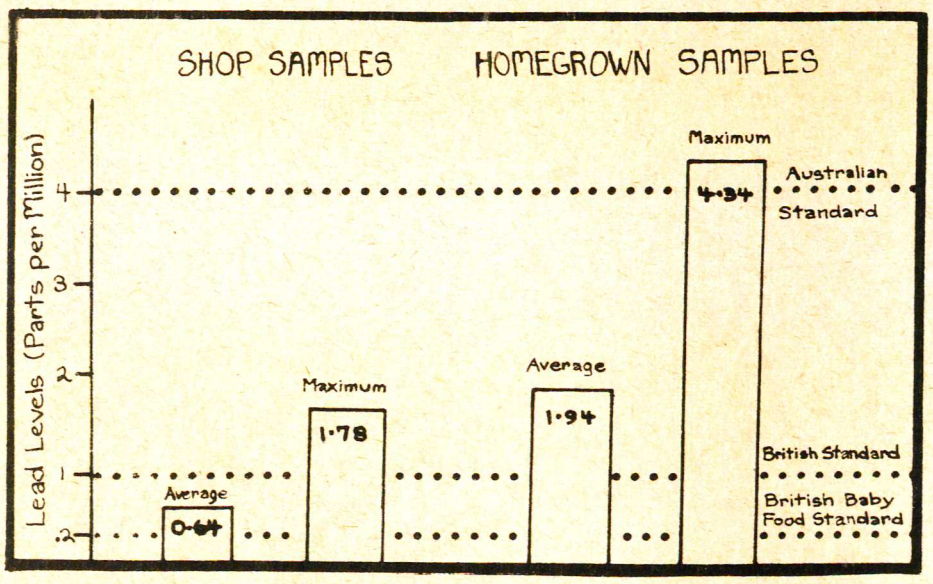
WE WON'T BE MISLEAD.

A survey of lead levels in Melbourne vegetables was recently completed by Dr. Frank Burden of the Monash Chemistry Department. Samples of home grown vegetables were collected from various suburbs and other samples were bought from shops for comparison.

The survey found the homegrown vegetables had three times the average lead content of the bought ones. Whilst almost all the samples were below the current Australian standard of 4 parts per million, the average was above the British standard of 1 part per million.

Even more alarmingly 90% of the samples were well over the British standard for canned baby food (0.2ppm). The U.S. Food and Drug Administration sets a maximum intake for infants of 150 micrograms per day with a long term goal of 100 micrograms. This later amount could be obtained by eating about 4 oz. (100grams) of the average vegetable sampled.

Tests with apples gave an average of 2 ppm in the skin and 0.43 ppm in the flesh. A similar relationship probably exists for the other vegetables and there are indications that most of the lead can be washed off with hot or slightly soapy water. The survey indicates that people growing vegetables should take some pains to adequately wash their vegetables to reduce the lead content until such time as lead is removed from petrol.



Committee for Lead Free Petrol Newsletter, No. 6, July, 1980.

POSTBOX

Friends of the Earth,
P.O. Box 667,
Sth Bris. 4101
19/8/80
Dear People,

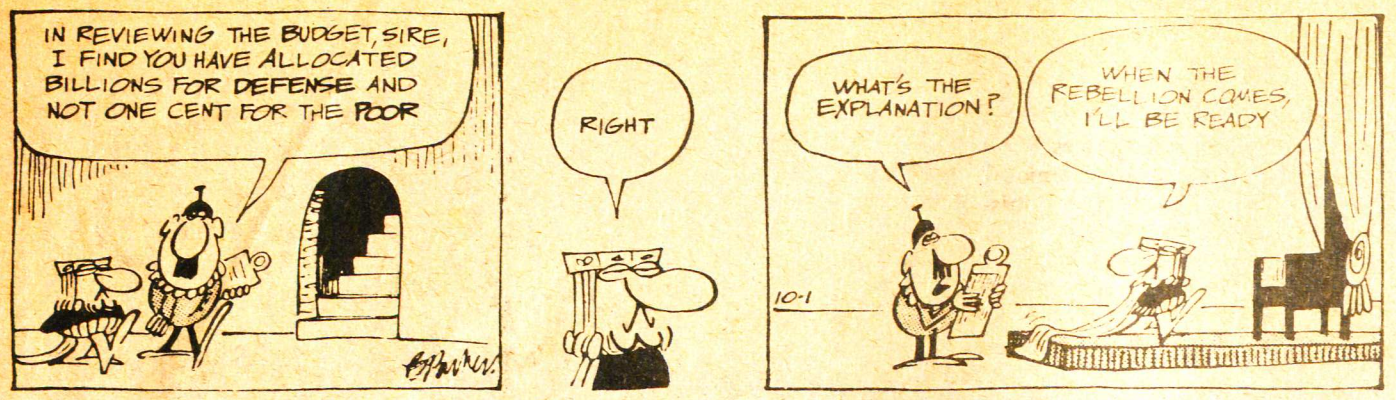
Friends of the Earth and Campus Movement Against Uranium Mining are organising a bicycle rally protesting against lead in petrol.

It will be held on Saturday 4th October starting at Roma St. Forum at 10 a.m. A short meeting with one speaker and songs will preceds the ride. We are planning to finish at a West End park with some entertainment, food and drink.

Lead in petrol is unnecessary, it is dangerous to human health and causes pollution. It can easily be replaced by alcohol which performs similar functions without the adverse health effects. Alcohol has replaced lead in petrol in areas of the United States already. Why isn't this happening here?

We would appreciate it if you would include the details above in your next newsletter. For further information phone Trevor on 441616.

FOR PEACE IN OUR TIME


IN REVIEWING THE BUDGET, SIRE, I FIND YOU HAVE ALLOCATED BILLIONS FOR DEFENSE AND NOT ONE CENT FOR THE POOR
RIGHT
WHAT'S THE EXPLANATION?
WHEN THE REBELLION COMES, I'LL BE READY
10-1

On the 1st and 2nd of August we (two or three gathered in his name) joined with the Humanists and Christians of the 'University Anarchist Group' in the staging of a 'Peace Recruitment Office' alongside the University Regiment's recruiting display at 'Expo Uni'. The University Anarchist Group has been involved in an anti—militarist campaign on campus since the beginning of the semester. They have centred their campaign on the University Regiment, who have their jeeps, trucks and death—weapons on campus. Two posters and a leaflet have been distributed on campus in an attempt to demythologise the role of the Uni Regiment. A role which is often hidden behind the advertising facade which stresses the exercise, the football and the 'good time had by all who sign up'. We are now learning that just getting the message over that regiments and soldiers are there to kill people, is a task in itself. As a group partaking in this action, we felt a special urgency as this is a time when fellow Christians and Humanists in the US are resisting Compulsory Registration for Military Training'. It is also a time when the Australian Government is spending three million dollars over four weeks in a last—ditch attempt to recruit — voluntarily — cannon fodder in to the Reserve Army. The aim of the American State is to get four million young people on the books as available conscripts and the immediate aim of the Australian State is to get 15,000 more recruits over the next twelve months. It is, therefore, a time when we not only have to stand in solidarity with the Christians and Humanist war resistors in the Russian and American jails, but a time when we have to be getting our own act together for worsening conditions here in the near future. It can be said without paranoia, that there is a distinct possibility of some form of conscription for us following the Federal elections later this year.

The tactic employed over the two days at Expo Uni was one of self—managed direct action and open ness. We spoke to many uni students, reserve soldiers and high school students as well as successfully attempting some 'street speaking' which resulted in quite a crowd gathering and debates developing. Speaking to the soldiers was fruitful, as we were able to point out to those claiming to be Christians or Humanists the inherent contradictions within their position and actions. A couple of these soldiers are willing to follow up the conversations with further discussions and reading. The macho madness of a lot of the soldiers was both a sad and frightening thing to witness. Tolstoy, a Christian pacifist said 'When we see trained animals accomplishing things contrary to nature we know that all this has been attained by the torments of hunger, whip and red hot iron. And when we see men in uniforms with rifles, standing motionless or performing all together with the same movement — running, jumping, shouting and so on — in general producing those fine reviews and manoevers which emperors and kings so admire and show off before one another, we know the same. One cannot cauterize out of a man all that is human and reduce him to the state of a machine without torturing him and torturing him not in a simple way but in the most refined cruel way — at one and the same time'. Another frightening revelation for us was the many senior high school students (finishing school this year) who will possibly be facing either conscription or the choice between the Army or the dole over the next couple of years. The vast majority of these school students could not remember the Vietnam War at all. So that's the task we are facing — the probable draftees of today were born in '60, '61 and '62 and have no recollection of the terror of the 'Australian war machine' in its full expression.

The university anarchist group will be maintaining opposition to the University Regiment while also turning its attention to the War Research (research into radio waves to be used in Omega bases for communication with trident submarines) taking place on campus with the possibility of a 'Day of Action' being organised for late September. 'Two or three gathered in his name' will be participating in a campaign directed at the Churchgoers, pointing out the pacifist implications of being a Christian. It is also expected that the 'People for Direct Democracy' will be broadening this campaign into the wider community. All these groups can be contacted c/-**No Limits**.

COMMENT...

We support and participate in the struggle against militarism. However, unlike the authors of the anti-militarist article, we and other anarchists can never accept any form of higher authority, be it earthly **or** heavenly. Each person should have control over her or his own life, and not be answerable to some legendary supernatural moral guardian.

Also, we do not believe christianity to be necessarily pacifist. Plenty of christians have fought and killed in god's service - from enlightening pagan primitives, to upholding laws of the land. The same sense of duty that drives to-day's christians off to church, could easily prompt them to sign up for military service.

That said, **No Limits** should stress that we wholeheartedly support the anti-militarist sentiments expressed in the article, and we would welcome any contributions from anarchists, libertarian christians, humanists and other generally sympathetic people.
No Limits.

DON'T JOG IN THE FOG!

Sunday 24th August was a busy night for some graffittist, who sprayed slogans on buildings in the new Townsville mall and the courthouse. The capitalists in Townsville were horrified with what they saw on the freshly painted bank of N.S.W. Sprayed right around the building was *'This bank owns shares in uranium mining'*, *'Fight capitalism, keep uranium in the ground'*. Then on the Post Office, which has a clock that doesn't work, was sprayed *'Clocks never work under capitalism...fight for the socialist revolution'*.

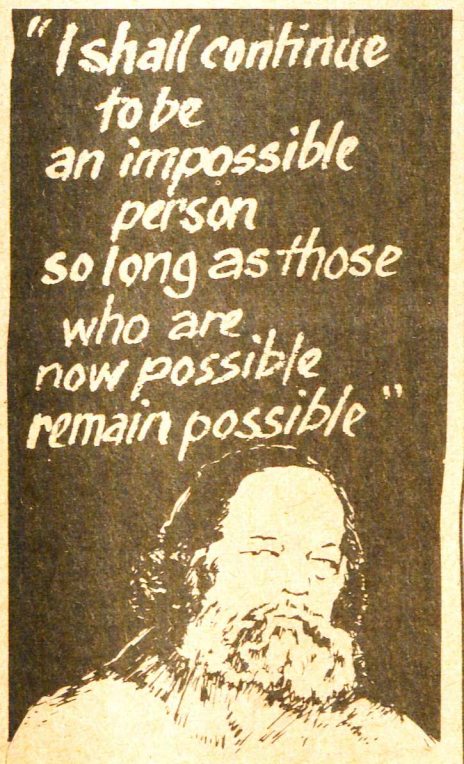
Some of the other graffitti included *'Throw Fraser out with socialist policies'* and *'Fight Joh'*, on the National Bank, *'Welcome to the sunshine state. Stay Alive...never turn your back on a Qld. cop'* on the CES office, and on the National Mutual Insurances Building *'More jobs less profit'*. Several boutiques owned by prominent NCP-ers were sprayed: *'Rape...and erld to every wolf whistle'*, *'Smash rape'* and *'Export romance, not live sheep'*. The Courthouse was graffittied with the slogans *'Death to the fascist magistrates and cops'*, *'Kill cops'* and *'If you don't fight you lose'*.

Some of the slogans were deemed too obscene by Gordon McRae of This Day Tonight the next day when he reported on the spray-up. They were so obscene to the capitalists that they had workers out by 6 a.m. cleaning them off.

Apart from apparently getting the Post Office clock working again, (it is now keeping the right time), the graffitti has given the media and fascists more ammunition to support their calls for more police in Townsville. The right wing media launched into a vicious attack upon these heinous criminals, with front page photos, and articles and two editorials in the Townsville Bulletin. Needless to say these articles and editorials were saying that whoever was responsible had a sick, perverted mind and that they must be caught and punished severely. It got to the point where city council Alderman Tucker, in particular, put up a reward of $1,000 for the arrest and conviction of these 'Heinous crims'.

Well if civic duty won't get a police officer moving, the scent of hard cash sure will. So the police launch into the case. They probably heard the rumour that Brian Wilson, the sitting ALP member for South Townsville had done it. After two days investigation, the police began to get desperate, so they raided the house of a motorcycle gang, and all that the police were interested in was if they had any spray cans. They continued on undaunted through four more houses until they came across a spray can and a sign that was sprayed *'Don't jog in the fog'* . Thinking Christmas had come early, the police immediately hauled the entire household down to the station for questioning ...voluntarily, of course. Upon leaving, one of the police officers discovered that one of the nasty people had hidden some hash in his pocket. Not knowing who the guilty party was he charged two of them with Wilful Damage of Property to the tune of $100,000 according to the police, and only one person was finally charged with possession.

We have also heard a rumour that the superintendant of police in Townsville did the spray-ups in order to obtain more police for Townsville.



NOTICE

The Conference 'Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-Styles' which was being organised for Oct-Nov this year by Bob James, has been *cancelled*.

Contact Bob at 7/355 Northbourne Avenue, Canberra.

The Worst Laws

A bizarre collection of strange statutes still on the books:

1)It is against the law to wear roller skates in a public lavatory in Portland, Oregan.

2) Men in Pine Island, Minnesota, must, under penalty of arrest, remove their hats when they meet a cow.

3) It is illegal to peel an orange in a California hotel room.

4) You are not allowed to tie a crocodile to a fire hydrant in Michigan.

5) You are not allowed to fall asleep in a Detroit bathtub.

6) You can't blow your nose in public in Waterville, Maine.

7) Natchez, Mississippi, prohibits the ingesting of beer by elephants.

8)You can't buy peanuts after sundown in Alabama.

9) In Minnesota, you're not alowed to hang male and female undergarments on the same clothesline.

ECOLOGY: A NEW DIRECTION?

This article is a slightly edited version of 'An Open Letter to the Ecology Movement', from Murray Bookchin, which appeared in the Summer, 1980 issue of the Canadian Anarchist publication Open Road.

With the opening of the eighties, the ecology movement in both the United States and Europe is faced with a serious crisis. This crisis is literally one of its identity and goals, a crisis that painfully challenges the movements capacity to fulfill its rich promise of advancing alternatives to the domineering sensibility, the hierarchical political and economic institutions, and the manipulative strategies for social change that have produced the catastrophic split between humanity and nature.

To speak bluntly:the coming decade may well determine whether the ecology movement will be reduced to a decorative appendage of an inherently diseased anti-ecological society, a society riddled by an unbridled need for control, domination and exploitation of humanity and nature - or, hopefully, whether the ecology movement will become the growing educational arena for a new ecological society based on mutual aid, decentralised communities, a peoples technology, and non-hierarchical, libertarian relations that will yield not only a new harmony between human and human, but between humanity and nature.

My remarks in this letter are the product of a very extensive experience as well as my individual concern for ideas that have claimed my attention for decades.

It is my conviction that my work and experience in all of these areas would mean very little if they were limited merely to the issues themselves, however important each one may be in its own right. 'No nukes', or for that matter, no food additives,no agribusiness, or no nuclear bombs is simply not enough if our horizon is limited to each one issue alone. Of equal importance is the need to reveal the toxic social causes, values, and inhuman relations that have created a planet which is already vastly poisoned.

Ecology, in my view, has always meant **social** ecology:the conviction that the very concept of dominating nature stems from the domination of human by human, indeed, of women by men, of the young by their elders, of one ethnic group by another,of society by the state, of the individual by bureaucracy, as well as of one economic class by another or a colonised people by a colonial power. To my thinking, social ecology has to begin its quest for freedom not only in the factory but also in the family, not only in the economy but also in the psyche, not only in the material conditions of life but also in the spiritual ones.Without changing the most molecular relationships in society notably, those between men and women, adults and children, whites and other ethnic groups, heterosexuals and gays (the list, in fact, is considerable) - society will be riddled by domination even in a socialistic "classless" and "non-exploitative" form. It would be infused by hierarchy even as it celebrated the glorious virtues of "peoples democracies" , "socialism" and the "public ownership" of "natural resources". And as long as hierarchy persists, as long as domination organises humanity around a system of elites, the project of dominating nature will continue to exist and inevitably lead our planet to ecological extinction.

The emergence of the women's movement, even more so than the counterculture, the "appropriate" technology crusade and the anti-nuke alliances (I will omit the clean-up escapades of "Earth Day"), points to the very heart of the hierarchical domination that underpins our ecological crisis. Only insofar as a counterculture, an alternate technology or anti-nuke movement rests on the non-herarchical sensibilities and structures that are the most evident in the truly radical tendencies in feminism can the ecology movement realize its rich potential for basic changes in our prevailing anti-ecological society and its values. Only insofar as the ecology movement **consciously** cultivates an anti-hierarchical and a non-domineering sensibility, structure and strategy for social change can retain its very **identity** as the voice for a new balance between humanity and nature and its **goal** for a truly ecological society.

This identity and this goal is now faced with serious erosion. Ecology is now fashionable, indeed, faddish - and with this sleazy popularity has emerged a new type of environmentalist hype. From an outlook and movement that at least held the promise of challenging hierarchy and domination have emerged a form of **environmentalism** that is based more on tinkering with existing institutions, social relations, technologies, and values than on changing them. I use the word "environmentalism" to contrast it with ecology, specifically with social ecology.

Where social ecology, in my view, seeks to eliminate the concept of the domination of nature by humanity by eliminating the domination of human by human, environmentalism reflects an "instrumentalist" or technical sensibility in which nature is viewed merely as a passive habitat, an agglomeration of external objects and forces, that must be made more "serviceable" for human use, irrespective of what these uses may be. Environmentalism, in fact, is merely environmental engineering. It does not bring into question the underlying notions of the present society, notably that man must dominate nature. On the contrary, it seeks to facilitate that domination by developing techniques for diminishing the hazards caused by domination. The very notions of hierarchy and domination are obscured by a technical emphasis on "alternative" power sources, structural designs for "conserving" energy; "simple" lifestyles in the name of "limits to growth" that now represent an enormous growth industry in its own right - and, of course, a mushrooming of "ecology"-oriented candidates for political office and "ecology"-oriented parties that are designed not only to engineer nature but also public opinion into an accommodating relationship with the prevailing society.

FASHIONABLE ECOLOGY

Nathan Glazer's "ecological" 24-square-mile solar satellite, O'Neill's "ecological" spaceships, and the DOE's giant "ecological" windmills, to cite the more blatant examples of this environmentalistic mentality, are no more "ecological" than nuclear power plants or agribusiness. If anything, their "ecological" pretensions are all the more dangerous because they are more deceptive and disorienting to the general public. The hoopla about a new "Earth Day" or future "Sun Days", "Wind Days", like the pious rhetoric of fast-talking solar contractors and patent-hungry "Ecological" inventors, conceal the all-important fact that solar energy, wind power, organic agriculture, holistic health, and "voluntary simplicity" will alter very little in our grotesque imbalance with nature if they leave the patriarchal family, the multinational corporation, the bureaucratic and centralized political structure. and property system, and the prevailing technocratic rationality untouched. Solar power, wind power, methane, and geothermal power are merely **power** insofar as the devices for using them are needlessly complex, bureaucratically controlled, corporately owned or institutionally centralized.

Admittedly, they are less dangerous to the physical health of human beings than power derived from nuclear and fossel fuels, but they are clearly dangerous to the spiritual, moral and social health of humanity if they are treated merely as **techniques** that do not involve new relations between people and nature and within society itself. The designer, the bureaucrat, the corporate executive, and the political careerist do not introduce anything new or ecological in society or in our sensibilities toward nature and people because they adopt "soft energy paths;" like all "technotwits" (to use Amory Lovins' description of himself in a personal conversation with me), they merely cushion or conceal the dangers to the biosphere and to human life by placing ecological technologies in a straitjacket of hierarchical values rather than by challenging the values and the institutions they represent.

HIERARCHY AND DOMINATION

By the same token, even decentralization becomes meaningless if it denotes logistical advantages of supply and recycling rather than human scale. If our goal in decentralizing society (or, as the "ecology"-oriented politicians like to put it, striking a "balance" between "decentralization" and "centralization") is intended to acquire "fresh food" or to "recycle wastes" easily or to reduce "transportation costs" or to foster "more"popu-control (not, be it noted, **complete** popular control) over social life, decentralization too is divested of its rich ecological and libertarian meaning as a network of free, naturally balanced communities based on direct face-to -face democracy and fully actualized selves who can really engage in the **self**-management and **self**-activity so vital for the achievement of an ecological society. Like alternate technology, decentralization is reduced to a mere technical stratagem for concealing hierarchy and domination. The "ecological" vision of "municipal control of power," "nationalization of industry," not to speak of vague terms like "economic democracy," may seemingly restrict utilities and corporations, but leaves their overall control of society largely unchallenged. Indeed, even a nationalized corporate structure remains a bureaucratic and hierarchical one.

As an individual who has been deeply involved in ecological issues for decades, I am trying to alert well-intentioned ecologically-oriented people to a profoundly serious problem in our movement. To put my concerns in the most direct form possible: I am disturbed by a widespread technocratic mentality and *political opportunism* that threatens to replace social ecology by a new form of social engineering. For a time it seemed that the ecology movement might well fulfill its libertarian potential as a movement for a non-hierarchicalsociety. Reinforced by the most advanced tendencies in the feminist, gay, community and socially radical movements, it seemed that the ecology movement might well begin to focus its efforts on changing the basic structure of our anti-ecological society, not merely on providing more palatable techniques for perpetuating it or institutional cosmetics for concealing its irremediable diseases. The rise of the anti-nuke alliances basedon a decentralized network of affinity groups, on an directly democratic decision-making process, and on direct action seemed to support this hope. The problem that faced the movement seemed primarily one of self-education and public education - the need to **fully** understand the meaning of the affinity group structure as a lasting, family-type form, the full implications of direct democracy, the concept of direct action as more than a "strategy" but as a deeply rooted sensibility, an outlook that expresses the fact that **everyone** had the right ot take **direct control** of society and of her or his everyday life.

NEW OPPORTUNISM

Ironically, the opening of the eighties, so rich in its promise of sweeping changes in values and consciousness, has also seen the emergence of a new opportunism, one that threatens to reduce the ecology movement to a mere cosmetic for the present society. Many self-styled "founders" of the anti-nuke alliances (one thinks here especially of the Clamshell Alliance) have become what Andrew Kopkind has described as "managerial radicals" - the manipulators of a political consensus that operates **within** the system in the very name of opposing it.

The 'managerial radical' is not a very new phenomenon. What is striking about the current crop is the extent to which "managerial radicals" come from important radical social movements of the sixties and, more significantly, from the ecology movement of the seventies. The radicals and idealists of the 1930s required decades to reach the middle-aged cynicism needed for capitulation, and they had the honesty to admit it in public. Former members of SDS and ecology action groups capitulate in their late youth or early maturity - and write their "embittered" biographies at 25, 30, or 35 years of age, spiced with rationalizations for their surrender to the status quo. Tom Hayden hardly requires much criticism, as his arguments against direct action at Seabrook last fall attest. Perhaps worse is the emergence of Barry Commoner's "Citizen's Party," of new financial institutions like MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy), and the "Voluntary Simplicity" celebration of a dual society of swinging, jeans-clad high-brow elitists from the middle classes and the conventionally clad, consumer-oriented low-brow underdogs from the working class, a dual society generated by corporate-financed "think tanks".

MANAGERIAL RADICALS In all of these cases, the radical implications of a decentralized society based on alternate technologies and closely knit communities are shrewdly placed in the service of a technocratic sensibility, of "managerial radicals," and opportunistic careerists. The grave danger here lies in the failure of many idealistic individuals to deal with major social issues on their own terms - to recognize the blatant incompatibilities of goals that remain in deep-seated conflict with each other, goals that cannot possibly coexist without delivering the ecology movement to its worst enemies. More often than not, these enemies are its "leaders" and "founders" who have tried to manipulate it to conform with the very system and ideologies that block any social or ecological reconciliation in the form of an ecological society.

The lure of "influence," of "mainstream politics," of "effectiveness" strikingly exemplifies the lack of coherence and consciousness that afflicts the ecology movement today. Affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action are not likely to be palatable - or, for that matter, even comprehensible - to millions of people who live as soloists in discotheques and singles bars. Tragically, these millions have surrendered their social power, indeed, their very personalities, to politicians and bureaucrats who live in a nexus of obedience and command in which they are normally expected to play subordinate roles. **Yet this is precisely the immediate cause of the ecological crisis of our time** - a cause that has its historic roots in the market society that engulfs us. To ask powerless people to regain power over their lives is even more important than to add a complicated, often incomprehensible, and costly solar collector to their houses. Until they regain a new sense of power over their lives, until they create their own system of self-management to oppose the present system of hierarchical management, until they develop new ecological values to replace current domineering values - a process which solar collectors, wind machines, and French-intensive gardens can **facilitate** but never replace - nothing they change in society will yield a new balance with the natural world.

Obviously, powerless people will not eagerly accept affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action in the normal course of events. That they harbour basic impulses which make them very susceptible to those forms and activities - a fact which always surprises the "managerial radical" in periods of crisis and confrontation - represents a potential that has yet to be fully realized and furnished with intellectual coherence through painstaking education and repeated examples. It was precisely this education and example that certain feminist and anti-nuke groups began to provide. What is so incredibly regressive about the technical thrust and electoral politics of environmental technocrats and "managerial radicals" today is that they recreate in the name of "soft energy paths," a specious "decentralization," and inherently hierarchical party-type structures the worst forms and habits that foster passivity, obedience and vulnerability to the mass media in the American public. The spectatorial politics promoted by Brown Hayden, Commoner, the Clamshell "founders" like Wasserman and Lovejoy, together with recent huge demonstrations in Washington and New York City breed **masses, not citizens** - the manipulated objects of mass media whether it is used by Exxon or by the CED (Campaign for Economic Democracy), the Citizen's Party, and MUSE.

Ecology is being used against an ecological sensibility, ecological forms of organization and ecological practices to "win" large constituencies, **not to educate them**. The fear of "isolation," of "futility," of "ineffectiveness" yields a new kind of isolation, futility and ineffectiveness, namely, a complete surrender of one's most basic ideals and goals. "Power" is gained at the cost of losing the only power we really have that can change this insane society - our moral integrity, our ideals, and our principles. This may be a festive occasion for careerists who have used the ecology issue to advance their stardom and personal fortunes; it would become the obituary of a movement that has, latent within itself, the ideals of a new world in which masses become individuals and natural resources become nature, both to be respected for their uniqueness and spirituality.

SOCIAL ECOLOGY

An ecologically oriented feminist movement is now emerging and the contours of the libertarian anti-nuke alliances still exist. The fusing of the two together with new movements that are likely to emerge from the varied crises of our times may open one of the most exciting and liberating decades of our century. Neither sexism, ageism, ethnic oppression, the "energy crisis," corporate power, conventional medicine, bureaucratic manipulation, conscription, militarism, urban devastation, or political centralism can be separated from the ecological issue. All of these issues turn around hierarchy and domination, the root conceptions of a radical social ecology.

It is necessary, I believe, for everyone in the ecology movement to make a crucial decision: will the eighties retain a visionary concept of an ecological future based on a libertarian commitment to decentralization, alternative technology, and a libertarian practice based on affinity groups, direct democracy, and direct action? Or will the decade be marked by a dismal retreat into ideological obscurantism and a "mainstream politics" that acquires "power" and "effectiveness" by following the very "stream" it should seek to divert? Will it pursue fictitious "mass constituencies" by imitating the very forms of mass manipulation, mass media, and mass culture it is committed to oppose? These two directions cannot be reconciled. Our use of "media," mobilizations, and actions must appeal to mind and to spirit, not to conditioned reflexes and shock tactics that leave no room for reason and humanity. In any case, the choice must be made now, before the ecology movement becomes institutionalized into a mere appendage of the very system whose structure and methods it professes to oppose. It must be made consciously and decisively - or the century itself, not only the decade, will be lost to us forever.

PUSH POLITELY: A REVIEW OF NADER'S TALKS

Ralph Nader, American 'consumer advocate', recently toured Australia and spoke about multinationals, the Australian economy and the formation of public interest groups. On 28 July, Nader addressed about 1400 people at Mayne Hall, on the subject of 'Multinationals and Their Use of Queensland's Resources.' Nader's talk was followed by replies from sympathizers- Harry Hauenschild (TLC) president) and William Huxley (Cooloola Committee)- and from opponents. There was a considerable amount of interjecting from the audience when John Moore (Liberal member for Ryan) and O. Paterson (Queensland Chamber of Mines) made their replies. Both speakers seemed surprised by the hostility of the audience and its reluctance to be placated with wishy-washy liberal rhetoric. Members of the audience constantly 'corrected' the speakers and shouted out questions: What about aboriginal land rights?, What about the unemployed?, Why isn't more spent on health?

The thrust of Nader's talk was, as expected, reformist. Nader placed a considerable amount of faith in the potential of existing bureaucratic structures to be made to work by an active informed citizenry. unfortunately no connection was made between the oppressive nature of the system, the inaccessibility of real political power through supposedly democratic structures, and the apathy/inactivity which Nader seemed to feel is the major obstacle to improving the quality of life.

What were his suggestions for dealing with multinationals? Nader's ideas here were a bit unclear since he didn't elaborate to any extent on what type of society he would like to see. Nader did not suggest specifically that multinationals be dismantled. He assumed that they are, for some reason beneficial or necessary. As Nader sees it, the trick is to make multinationals accountable. They must be made to conform to a spectrum of human values broader than the mercantile standard, to paraphrase Ralph. This is to be achieved through social reform. Nader feels that with enough public pressure, social reforms can be brought about via the instruments of government and the rule of law. Multinationals can, he concludes, be made to respect the integrity of government, environment and morals. Nader ignored the need to overturn and totally transform the whole range of existing exploitative relationships which help perpetuate governments and multinationals (and vice versa). When the distinction between government and multinational blurs, it is pointless, as an end in itself, to try and work through a legal system which they control. What could be achieved in the long term? Surely, if our aim is to meet human needs in ways that will be socially and environmentally sound then the multinational is the wrong structure to be working with. The purpose of a multinational is not, and never will be, to meet human needs. Its function is to maximise profits; something which requires and will always result in the concentration of social, political and economic power in the hands of a few.

So when Ralph Nader talks about solving the problems of pollution and the 'energy crisis', he is really advocating a 'technological fix' because the basic exploitative relationships between human and human, humanity and the environment will not be changed. The flaw in this approach was evident in Nader's naive analysis of the potential for solar energy to solve the energy crisis and replace dangerous centralised forms of energy. He claimed that solar energy technology is always job productive and automatically leads to decentralisation. Of course, these claims are simply not true. Solar 'equipment' could be produced on a small scale in community workshops, but it could also be produced on automated assembly lines, like anything else. Decentralisation could be, but is not necessarily the result of adopting solar technology. Multinationals, who have an affinity for centralised technologies and energy production could develop solar energy in a centralised fashion. Indeed they have already begun. There are already in existence giant banks of solar collectors generating solar electricity on a large scale. And there are plans for more. Some 'environmentalists' have even supported plans for centralised solar power, such as the plan for orbiting satellite solar collectors. Because of the enormous cost of such projects these same environmentalists have called on big business to develop these projects. Although solar energy production is 'cleaner' than nuclear, it can still be used to maximise control over people and produce all the unnecessary environmentally degrading consumables and by products that are presently being produced. The solar powered Queanbeyan soft drink factory is an example of this. Which brings me to another of Nader's comments: the sun cannot be diverted to weapons production. It already has... Jimmy Carter recently announced the introduction of solar powered 'environmentally safe' backup systems for U.S. nuclear weapons systems. Solar energy can also be 'cartelised', though Ralph thinks otherwise. The large energy multinationals (Exxon grosses $7 million per hour) are already largely in control of conventional energy sources, and they are buying into the alternative technologies, especially solar. By Nader's own admission, 50 of Australia's largest solar heating company is owned by Shell Oil. At the same time, energy self-sufficiency projects in the U.S. are running up against increasing resistance from profit hungry businesses and government. In some cases attempts have been made to legislate against the production of home grown energy. If such projects become popular enough to pose a threat to the existing power of centralised energy, those who control the economy have the muscle to outlaw such energy projects. Yes, solar cartels **are** possible.

So it is simply not enough to say 'solar not nuclear'. Solar energy has tremendous liberatory potential. It must form the basis of an ecologically sound society, but equal access to social wealth must also be a feature of such a society so that people may truly control the ways in which technology affects their lives and their environment.

These are, I feel, the major flaws in Naders analysis. His talk, although quite general, did have some good points. Ralph Nader managed to put into words the general mistrust that I suspect a great number of people have of big business. Nader gave some examples of the extent to which western economies are controlled by multinationals. He used several Australian examples to illustrate: Comalco, the Tasmanian Hydroelectric Commission and the destruction of

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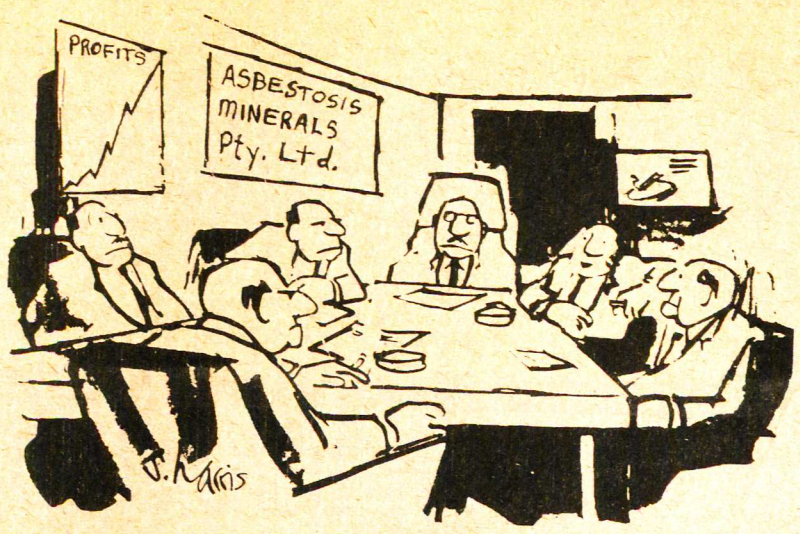
PROFIT = DEATH

...a prime example of how capitalism kills not just workers, but whole populations of supposedly innocent bystanders. The weapon is asbestos, and the method of killing is through with—holding of information and coverup. James Hardie is the prime suspect. James Hardie is a company which, until recently, operated an asbestos mine at Baryulgil near Grafton, N.S.W.

James Hardie has safeguarded its profits by either flatly denying the dangers of asbestos or by trying to play them down. For example, the industry has used the extreme danger of blue asbestos as a red herring to take the pressure off the other two forms of asbestos, in particular the commonly used white. Medical authorities around the world have rejected this premise and now do not discriminate between the various forms. All insist that one form is as deadly as another. We here in Australia have been kept in almost complete ignorance of the danger of asbestos by the extremely rich and powerful mining lobbies. By manipulating the information and by making itself virtually the sole repository of all information on asbestos, the asbestos industry has been able to keep the Australian public as well as its own workers in almost total ignorance.

Do you know why asbestos is so dangerous? Well, asbestos which in its mined state is a silky, fibrous mineral, is very durable and able to withstand high temperatures. It is exactly these qualities which make asbestos so dangerous to people. The asbestos fibres vary in size from several centimeters in length to such fineness that they would seem to be a gas. If these fibres are breathed into the lungs they stick to the bronchial tubes while others move down into the air sacs. Once there the body has no way of eliminating them biologically, and because asbestos is indestructible, they do not disintegrate. So in time, scar tissue will form over the fibres, and if there has been enough exposure the lungs will become hard and inelastic making breathing extremely difficult. In turn this puts a strain on the heart. Heart failure is common, or if the heart survives, the victim will die an excruciating death, unable to breathe. this is Asbestosis- it is progressive and irreversible. Asbestosis has been known and documented for at least 2,000 years. Normally it requires heavy and long exposure to asbestos dust; it is preventable if conditions are made safe, but asbestos also causes cancer and to do this requires neither long nor heavy exposure. You don't even have to work in the industry. With blue asbestos, which until recently was widely used in Australia, exposure of only a few minutes is enough to induce cancer.



"First we have to convince the people that good health isn't everything.

This danger has been known and deliberately withheld from workers and the buying public for more than 30 years.

In the US some 250,000 people face the prospect of death by cancer as the result of exposure to asbestos dust. The US National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences predicts that more than two million American workers are likely to die prematurely in the next three decades from Asbestosis, lung cancer, cancers of the gullet, stomach and colon, and mesothelioma (an otherwise rare cancer of the lining of the lung) — all direct results of exposure to asbestos. These same statistics if applied in Australia, one of the world's largest users of asbestos, mean that at least 4,000 people will die in 1980 because of asbestos.

This is all bad enough if only it reflected the increased use of asbestos since WWII, but what is emerging is evidence of a conspiracy of silence by the industry to conceal what it has known and withheld for the last 50 years; that asbestos is a killer.

In the last ten years James Hardie has gone to great lengths to try and clean up the very dirty operations of their factories. Behind this facade are examples of what can only be termed industrial homicide. Up until recently Hardies operated an asbestos mine in Baryulgil, just outside of Grafton, N.S.W.The workers at this mine were mainly aborigines. To say that conditions at the mine and mill were appalling would be an understatement. Even on a clear windless day you could see the fibres hanging in the air. One resident took a photograph of the mill when it was working and Kodak sent back the film unprinted saying that there was something wrong with the camera because it was fogging the film. So this person had it printed elsewhere, and the mill could barely be seen. It looked like it had exploded, with dust pouring out of every opening. 'And that's how it was every day', said the resident. In the mill the asbestos was shovelled into hessian bags and the dust from this would obscure the person holding the bag. Half of the aborigines that worked the mine there during the last ten years are dead; most have died from what is described as 'heart and chest complaints', usually between the ages of 43 and 48. The oldest to die was a man of 50. The climb to the top of the quarry is a distance of 70 metres. Most of the workers have to stop a couple of times to catch their breath. Chest complaints were so prevalent in the township that most of the people began to regard it as normal. There were no warnings or information about the dangers of asbestos given to the workers or the residents of Baryulgil. But they knew something was wrong as their health was poor and they were all dying young, but they were constantly reassured that they had nothing to fear. At a meeting with the management they asked if asbestos was as dangerous as some of the stories they had seen from overseas, and if they were being exposed to the same dangers. They were told by some honky swine 'Oh no, it might affect white people, but not aborigines.'

Most workers at the mine were members of the AWU. When the AWUwas asked why they did nothing to safeguard their members at the mine they came out with this racist statement: 'You don't want to believe everything the blacks tell you up there.'.

Hardies' medical officer, Dr. Terry McCullagh who had inspected the mine on several occasions and could not have missed the deadly conditions said he was greatly surprised that routine x-rays of the workers did not detect any Asbestosis. When questioned about whether or not he warned the workers or management about the dangerous situation at the mine his only reply was 'That's a fair comment.' When pressed further about why he let the mine continue to operate in such a dirty manner he said,'That's a managerial decision.'

Very few of the workers at Baryulgil who became ill or died because of asbestos were given proper compensation. One example was Cyril Mundine, a miner who died of Asbestosis in 1969. He received workers compensation during his last months, but only after Asbestosis had been diagnosed. However when he died his widow Ruby Mundine was given a paltry $3,000 and was told that was all the company could afford. Cyril was in his forties when he died and had at least 20 more years of earning to look forward to. Ruby took this because she didn't realise she was entitled to any more since she wasn't offered any legal advice by the AWU. Then in 1977, by which time she was on an invalid pension because her chest was affected by the asbestos dust, the Aboriginal Legal Service took up her case. But by this time the Statute of Limitations prevented her from making any legal claim against the company, so the legal service asked for $30,000; half of what she would have been entitled to if she had claimed earlier. She claimed on the grounds that Hardies had not provided a safe working place, had provided no masks or breathing equipment and had never told its workers of the dangers of asbestos dust. Reluctant to set any sort of precedent, Hardies rejected the claim.

At the 1978 annual general meeting a shareholder raised the matter again and proposed that Ruby be given 2 percent of the money earmarked for dividends as just compensation; that would have been $38,780. The chairperson, John Reid, ruled it out of order and advised the shareholder that it was no longer a concern of Hardies as they had since sold the mine. Ruby herself was told that $3,000 was all that Hardies could afford. Hardies had just declared a $15 million profit; John Reid's holdings in Hardies at that time were in excess of $57 million.

So the next time you see any Hardies products make a quick escape because they have killed countless others. In the next issue we will go into how right now you could be breathing in asbestos fibres.

BETTER DEAD THAN RED?

Apparently the Townsville base for the armed forces is in the middle of a substantial overhaul in response to renewed western military activity. The base is being brought into a state of battle readyness; equipment is being updated and the number of personnel is being increased. These moves were announced by Defence Minister Killen a few weeks before the budget came out. The soldiers too are being prepared physically and psychologically for war. Soldiers have been on manoevres, and are required to shoot at human shaped targets with hammer and sickle emblazoned upon them! The source of this information (asoldier from the Towns ville base) said he wished a 'minor emergency — like Malaya or Vietnam' would develop, so that the troops would have a chance to use and practice the (killing) skills they have learned. The soldier was somewhat annoyed that their education was being wasted.

MOBIL'S LOGIC

Next time you pull into a Mobil petrol station or buy some Mobil product, you should know a bit more about their activities in South Africa. At Mobil's May shareholders meeting Mobil directors issued a statement in defence of their South African business interests. It was a statement defending continued oil sales to the white government's military (the army and police).

A few words of background: Mobil is the largest US investor in South Africa, with assets of over $425 million. South Africa imports over 90 percent of its oil, and five major multinationals control 85 percent of the industry. The white regime considers petroleum supplies of such military significance that it forbids foreign oil corporations — including Mobil — from revealing the extent of their South African sales and the identity of their customers. Here is a sample of Mobil's reasoning:

'Total denial of supplies to the police and military forces of a host country is hardly consistent with an image of good citizenship in that country. The great bulk of the work of both police and the military forces in every country, including South Africa, is for the benefit of all its inhabitants. All have a basic interest in the maintenance of public order and safety. A policy of the character advocated would deny resources for response to grave emergencies, for the apprehension of common criminals, and for the protection and security of all individuals and property, including that of the Corporation.'

Multinational Monitor, Vol. 1, No. 4. May, 1980.

BOOK REVIEW

INSIDE OUT
by LES NEWCOMBE
Angus & Robertson $4.95

FOR SIMMO
by JAN SIMMONDS
Cassells $7.95

In November 1966, Kevin Simmonds was found dead in his Grafton prison cell.

Simmonds was serving a life sentence for his part in the death of a prison-farm warder while he and Les Newcombe were on the run after escaping from Long Bay jail. Their escape made the national headlines and involved NSW police in the longest manhunt in the state's history. At the time of their escape public attention focused not just on the determination of Newcombe and Simmonds to remain free, but also on the prison system from which they had escaped and were soon to be returned to. These two recently published books tell their stories.

Simmonds grew up in Griffith, his family never far from the poverty line. Newcombe spent his early years in Sydny's Paddo, then a poor working class area, where he soon learned the ways of the streets. Both men ran foul of the law at an early age. Simmonds was sentenced to an institution for delinquents at Engadine 'where he found out what crime was all about'. He was later sentenced to two years at Gosford Training School on a series of stealing and breaking and entering charges. He was 18 years old.

Newcombe fared better after his first encounter with the law; he was released on a good behaviour bond. Accepting the adage 'only mugs work', it wasn't long before he was convicted for breaking and entering offences and sentenced to 3 years hard labour. 'I believe it is better to give a young criminal a harsh sentence when he first comes before the court, and in that way deter him from later crime' commented the sentencing judge.

The reality was far from what the good judge imagined. Newcombe gives this description: 'It is here that crime education and a whole philosophy is absorbed by the newly initiated. Things like how to de-activate bugs, blow safes,

plan robberies, are discussed in detail by the experienced. The values and principles are accepted because of circumstance, and the development of new characteristics is inevitable.' It was during this stay in Long Bay that he and Kevin first met.

Moved to different prisons to finish their respective sentences, they met again after an introduction by a mutual friend and embarked on a series of robberies and an unsuccessful escapade to Wagga in an attempt to steal a weapon for armed robbery. They found the asking price in the underworld too high.

Both were finally apprehended. Simmonds was sentenced to 15 years for the offences he had committed in the four months since his release from Goulburn Jail. 'I cannot recollect any worse case coming before me. Your cleverness, cunning and the skill with which you eluded capture shows that you could have made a success of almost anything you chose to do.' Newcombe, charged with only two minor offences, received a 3½ year sentence. It was while they were in Long Bay awaiting transfer that they made their daring escape on 9th October, 1959.

Newcombe was arrested two weeks later at a road block driving a stolen car. Simmonds successfully eluded capture until 14th November, when he surrendered to police near Kurri Kurri. For both men it was far from over.

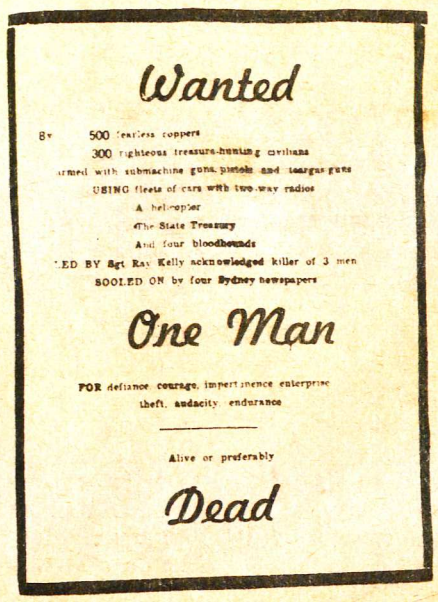
Newcombe describes his fear and apprehension knowing that he was soon to experience the violence of the Grafton regime; 'that I was frightened and depressed by the thoughts of what lay ahead. If only a portion of the stories we heard about the place were true then it would be hard to get through the experience. I'm not a masochist and the thought of brutal bashings on a regular basis turned my blood to water.' Grafton was to systematically reduce Simmonds, the anti-hero, who 'had declared war on society', to a stuttering, shuffling, physical, mental and nervous wreck, scarcely recognizable to his nearest relatives'.

Unlike Newcombe, who draws few conclusions and is willing to let the reader decide, Jan Simmonds attacks the prison governors, warders, magistrates, doctors... in short the whole prison system which could for so long ignore or actively cover up what was happening at Grafton. Newcombe's statement to detectives detailing the reasons he believed Simmonds suicided; the hopelessness of the Grafton situation and the treatment of notorious prisoners, was ignored and he was never called to give evidence at their inquest.

Jan Simmonds presents interviews with several Grafton inmates who survived. It was the allegations made by these and many other prisoners which eventually forced the NSWgovernment to establish the Nagel Royal Commission into the excesses of the regime. Of the Commissions report she concludes 'to sack one man for the crimes of many is a fair indication of the lack of any concern for any genuine penal reform'.

Raymond Denning, still at large from Grafton, adds weight to this conclusion when he writes; 'Iwas taken back to grafton five times after appearing in a Sydney court, and even though I complained of being physically and mentally tortured, the magistrates and judges did not believe me, so after each court hearing I was sent back to Grafton 500 km. away and **flogged for complaining**. Over that two year period, I was bashed hundreds of times and travelled thousands of miles. When every legal way I tried to bring **humanity, justice**, and most of all **equality** into the prison system had failed, I had no choice but to risk my life and escape'.

These books are just the beginning as more and more prisoners are publishing their side of the story of the crimes committed against them (in some cases daily) in the name of justice!


Wanted
500 fearless coppers
300 righteous treasure-hunting civilians
armed with submachine guns, pistols and teargas guns
USING fleets of cars with two-way radios
A helicopter
the State Treasury
And four bloodhounds
LED BY Sgt Ray Kelly acknowledged killer of 3 men
SOOLED ON by four Sydney newspapers
One Man
FOR defiance courage, impertinence enterprise
theft, audacity endurance
Alive or preferably
Dead

A reward poster printed by an underground student press and posted around the city as Kevin Simmonds continued to elude police after Newcombe's capture.

Red and Black Bookshop

Shop 21 and 22
Elizabeth Arcade
Brisbane
Phone 221 4880

A Reader of Australian Anarchism 1886-1896- edited by Bob James- $3.00

Australian Anarchists have not been mentioned much in books on the Australian Labour movement. This collection of readings has rescued much early material from obscurity.

The Vegetarian Epicure- by Thomas- $3.95

A good vegetarian cookbook containing delicious but relatively simple recipes.

Nuclear Disaster in the Urals- by Z. A. Medvedev- $12.95

Late in 1957 a huge explosion occurred in the disposal section of the Soviet atomic weapons industry, located in the Southern Urals where atomic wastes had been stored for over ten years. The story of the explosion was supressed by the Soviet Union and the CIA, who were both fearful of public resistance to nuclear power plants.

The Ugly Face of Australian Business- by Timothy Hall- $12.95

Examines the world of business totally committed to short term economic gain at the expense of consumers, employees and the community.

In Our Own Hands- A Womens Health Manual- by Bon Hull- $7.95

This Australian book aims to help women understand their own bodies. Often it may be possible to alleviate problems oneself, but where it is necessary to visit a doctor, the book helps the reader to approach her him as an equal.

Cults and Cons- The Exploitation of the Emotional Growth Consumer- Cinnamon and Farson- $8.00

Too many parts of the emotional growth movement seek long term growth for themselves. Their goal is to keep the consumer in perpetual need, constantly dependent and forever coming back for more.

The Broken Heart- The Medical Consequences of Loneliness- by J. J. Lynch- $5.95

The lack of human companionship is one of the leading causes of premature death, especially marked in the case of heart disease. Lynch concludes that we must learn to live together or we shall die prematurely alone.

The Complete Book of Fruit-by Johns and Stevenson- $19.95

Lots of information, pictures and drawings of fruit of many different kinds. After this you'll be tempted to plant your lawn with trees and eat your landscaping.

Subliminal Seduction and *Media Sexploitation*- by W. B. Key- $2.95 each

The hidden implants in America's mass media and how they program and condition your subconscious mind without you suspecting it. Key's concern is not so much that we are exploited but that we do not even know that we are being exploited.

A WORD FROM OUR SPONSORS

The response to the first two issues of **No Limits** has encouraged us to continue producing the newsletter for a few more issues at least. Our main concern is that it serves as a forum for anarchist discussion in Brisbane, as well as providing a source of local and international news and comment not readily available to most people.

So far the content of each issue has largely depended on what people in the collective have been able to produce or what comrades have supplied. We have discussed the idea of a central theme for certain issues which will allow us to solicit material from people, rather than relying on what has 'arrived' by the type-setting deadline(s). It may also allow us to expand the production past six pages. You have been warned!!!

The views presented in these pages are those of the authors of the articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the collective nor are they some definitive anarchist position. Articles will be credited to the author(s) if so desired.

At present our greatest problem is, you guessed it, our old favorite capitalist evil...**money!**Sales have not covered costs and we have had to rely on the generosity of a few people, most notably our printer. If you wish to see us survive (and we won't be able to without help) take out a subscription or send us some **$$$$**....no roubles thank you!

Printed by Craft Press, Bris.

RED AND BLACK BOOKSHOP

AN UNNECESSARY LUXURY?

The Red and Black is Australia's longest running Anarchist bookshop. It began in the sixties as the Civil Liberties Street bookstall, then became the Cellar Bookshop under the benevolent surveillance of the Turbot St. Police Station. In 1970 it became a company adopting the name 'The Red and The Black Pty Ltd whose shareholders were a mixture of popular front activists. In 1972 control passed into Anarchist hands.

In early 1977 when the Self Management Group split up, it was argued that the bookshop should be closed because it was a drain on energy and money. The Women's Collective who had been running the bookshop for the previous eight months argued that this was not the case, and that the SMG was sexist in its desire to eliminate the Women's Collective. Now that all of the Women's Collective (except one) has left the shop it is time to reexamine the situation.

As well as a wide range of Anarchist and Feminist books, the Red and Black Bookshop also carries a range of alternative literature with an emphasis on self—sufficiency; art posters and hand made posters. The bookshop has a small meeting area which is used by libertarian groups and a small library of anarchist literature (mainly magazines) which is being built up. It serves as a distribution outlet for local and overseas anarchist literature and as a place for people to make contact with anarchist groups and ideas through discussion. The bookshop is also a good place to learn skills for tracking down information, and as an outlet for magazines not found at other shops.

At the moment these functions are carried out by 2 people, 1 full time, one part time, and a number of helpers. The responsibilities of the shop are carried out by a collective of two people. At present a wage of $60 is being paid to the full time worker. Overall the bookshop has a deficit of $3,000, which in the past has been financed by members of the collective.

At the present time this deficit needs to be raised elsewhere and another full time worker needs to be found to replace the present one. If people think it is worthwhile to keep the bookshop open, this is how they can help: either contributing to the rent collective, helping out for a ½ day or more a week or volunteering to replace the full time worker. Replacing the full time worker is a heavy responsibility, experience with accounting would be helpful, and an interest or potential interest in books, bookshops and the booktrade is essential, and police interviewing techniques may be of assistance for the occasional visit or raid.

There will be a meeting of anarchists interested in discussing the continuation of the bookshop and their contribution to it, on Thursday 16th October at the Red and Black, shops 21& 22, Elizabeth Arcade, City, at 7.30pm.

GREECE UPDATE

The Greek authorities have not only failed to release Philippos and Sophia Kyritsis who were sentenced to 9 and 5 years respectively as terrorists but they continue to throw other anarchists into their prisons.

Yhose currently imprisoned are: Nikos Ntalos (20), Alex Triadafillou (20), E. Seferis (18), and A. Paulou. All are charged with having formed an anarchist group in Istiaia (on the island of Eubora), possessing anarchist books, having taken part in public debates in which they defended the cause of libertarianism and with having attempted to burgle the town bank.

Other anarchists are in prison charged with setting up anarchist groups in their towns and being in pessession of books like Malatesta's 'Anarchy', and with having defiled the Greek flag by drawing on it.

Leonidas Christakis (52), publisher of the magazine 'Ideodramio' (The Path of Ideas) is charged with being behind the formation of a terrorist group.

Jean Mpauketsides (a 24 year old worker(is charged with arson against tax records in Nicea (a working class area in Piraeus). He has denied the charges and it appears that the police have no real evidence against him. Jean was tortured while being held in the police station by Piraeus police chief, Jean Gienoulis who was a notorious torturer even under the Colonels. The injuries Jean received have been noted by the court doctor. Jean is still in prison.

There is proof of widespread torture in Greek prisons- recently an autonomist militant, Scondalis, was crucified in the prison on Corfu.

Our comrades cannot expect release without an intensive campaign on their behalf at home and abroad, and the lobbying of Human Rights organisations etc. The Athens Anarcho-sydicalist group recommends the creation of a diplomatic incident by the occupation of a diplomatic or consular office.

Report from the Athens Anarcho-syndicalist group.

Trades Hall Blues

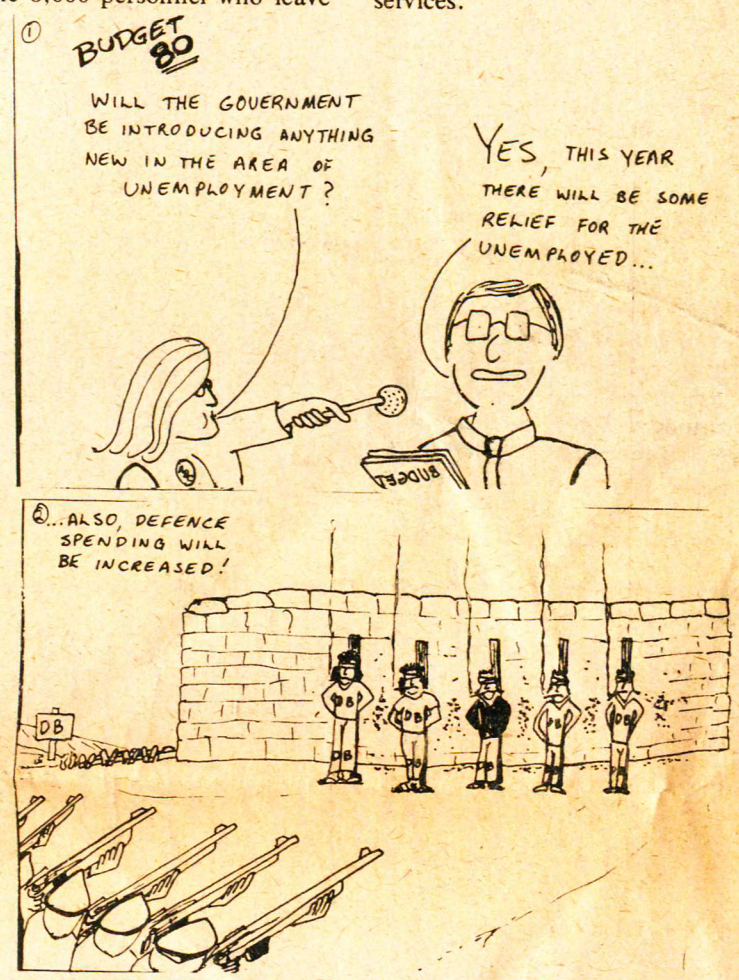
Harry Peebles, Federated Ironworkers Union secretary — affectionately known by his union members as 'Feeble Peebles' — was recently appointed State Arbitration Commissioner in Queensland. We can expect that there will be a lot of trade union officials in Trades Hall who, whilst calling Peebles a traitor, will be waiting for the nod next time around from the supposed hater of Trades Hall, Joh Bjelke—Petersen. All hope is not lost. There will be a nice job for someone on the Workers Compensation Board. Welldone Harry! Your experience gained in controlling workers will be invaluable to the bosses.

P.S.: You will miss your mates at the local waterhole RSL opposite Trades Hall, but after all, when one pub door closes, another club door opens.

Loaves and Crusts

Australia's armed forces have been allocated $14 million for recruiting in 1979—1980. The Defence Department plans a major propaganda blitz involving 11 different advertising agencies in an effort to boost enlistments to 9,000 for the year. This means that the government is willing to spend about $1600 (in advertising alone) per recruit. Meanwhile the government continues restricting the numbers of disadvantaged people who can legally beg for the few crusts it cares to toss out. And in real terms, the crusts keep getting smaller and smaller! The $14 million spent on defence recruiting alone is enough to double the dole (single, no dependants) for nearly 5,300 people for one year.

The military's recruitment propaganda is to be given a new emphasis in the hope that new enlistments will surpass the 8,000 personnel who leave the armed forces each year. The forces currently have an inquiries to recruitments ratio of 15 to 1. Recruitment propaganda previously pictured the armed forces as exciting and full of action...just the place for 'building men of strong character'. This macho approach has reportedly failed, and the new emphasis will be on economic incentives — good wages, job security, the chance for promotion, good food and lodging, plus 'fringe benefits' — in an attempt to lure the unemployed or potential unemployed (school leavers etc.). With the current Cold War atmosphere, we can also expect plenty of appeals to nationalism. These are intended to make people feel that it is their duty to join up; this approach is essential for the politicians to help justify massive increases in defence spending at the expense of social services.


1
BUDGET 80
WILL THE GOUERNMENT BE INTRODUCING ANYTHING NEW IN THE AREA OF UNEMPLOYMENT ?
YES, THIS YEAR THERE WILL BE SOME RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED...
BUDGET
2...ALSO, DEFENCE SPENDING WILL BE INCREASED!
DB

cont. from page 1

iously. The task force and other police who bashed people that night are well-known from demonstrations, pickets and parties for their maniacal violence and cruelty.

Once inside the fortress that is the watchhouse in Herschell St., the prisoners were given another goingover.

So far, all but one defendant have been convicted on various charges. The only criminal charge laid arising from this incident was that of wilful damage to a police vehicle. The recent result of that charge was a 9month hard labour sentence for a person who sustained the most severe injuries from several bashings on the night of Nov. 30th-Dec.1st, 1979. A further 5 charges are still to be heard concerning him.

cont. from page 5

Tasmanian wilderness, and the closure of the Pagewood plant.

Nader pointed out the links between multinationals and authoritarian governments (especially in South America) and made it clear that these giants determine the quality of the water we drink and the air we breath. I found his suggestions for coping with multinationals in Australia to be rather inadequate, apart from his conviction that activism for education is very important. Nader encouraged people to become involved, at a grass roots level, in citizen action/education campaigns around issues which affect them-worker's safety, civil liberties, energy, pollution.

Hopefully their involvement in such campaigns will lead people to adopt a better understanding, and a more radical analysis of society and the ecological crisis.

Tired of Searching for Enlightenment?

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